

The Classical Bulletin

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NUMBER 1

Imperial Mementos in Suetonius

This paper is intended for those of us who have enjoyed gazing at George Washington's false teeth among the oddments preserved at Mount Vernon. For the moment let us be unabashed tourists with a concern for not especially meaningful trifles.

Antiquity had its own antiquity, and Roman Italy was as dotted with historical landmarks as is modern Italy. Many of the more fragile items have perished, but in literature we constantly run across mentions of curiosities which stirred the interest of the traveller or collector.¹

Some of the objects were grotesque, like Aeneas' sow, exhibited in pickled form at Lavinium (Varro *Rust.* 2.4.18). Ronald Syme has recalled it to our attention that, in the time of Tiberius, Sejanus had in his house a statue of Fortuna, originally the property of Servius Tullius and before Sejanus housed appropriately in the Temple of Fortuna founded by Servius in the Forum Boarium.² This statue was veiled by Servius' own *toga regia undulata*, woven by Tanaquil. Syme mentions in passing the augural staff of Romulus, which survived a fire in the Chapel of the Salii on the Palatine, and the linen corslet dedicated in the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius by Cornelius Cossus a century after Servius Tullius' day. Lanciani supplies us with a reference to Procopius' comment (4.22) on the preservation of the "large canoe hollowed out of the trunk of a tree," used by Aeneas and preserved in the Arsenal on the left bank of the Tiber.³ The temples were in fact stuffed with valuable collections and dedications, while it is possible that the gewgaws and tinsel which were also there may have contributed to the inflammability of the buildings.⁴

Seneca and the Elder Scipio

More familiar are Seneca's reflections (*Ep.* 86) when he visited the gloomy villa of the Elder Scipio Africanus at Liternum and noted the simple bathing apartments of yore. Lanciani⁵ further assures us that near the Appian Way "the crypts of the Scipios were kept accessible as a place of historical pilgrimage up to the fourth century after Christ."

More significant is the fact that the Elder Pliny had seen samples of the handwriting of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, and examples of Cicero, Vergil, and Augustus were actually numerous (*HN* 13.83).

Yet it is still remarkable to observe how frequently Suetonius has occasion to mention in his

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Vitae Caesarum objects or buildings which received veneration and respect because of their association with one emperor or another. It seems a pity that E.N.I.T. had not yet been established, for Suetonius would have served as an admirable guide to a tour of "The Memorials and Mementos of the Emperors." Some of the descriptions by Suetonius are of historical significance, and with them I shall deal in the course of a paper on Suetonius as an historian, but I shall now pass under review all his imperial mementos, whether important or merely incongruous.⁶ I shall usually ignore the larger guided tour of a more serious nature, which would have to include the altars at Philippi (*Tib.* 14.3) and the commemorative festival and the city of Nicopolis at Actium (*Aug.* 18.2), the "battlefield tour."

It was perhaps Suetonius' quondam official position at court which had allowed him access to docu-

ments in the archives illustrating the handwriting of the emperors, but we must remember the Elder Pliny's statement that samples of Augustus' handwriting were in general circulation. The modern historian of antiquity, at any rate, must alter his hue with envy when he considers how close Suetonius could be to the true sources and documents of Roman history and biography.

In Suetonius' day numerous letters of the great Julius were extant, and his passage (*Iul.* 56.6) implies that he had examined them, because he describes the format of the letters to the senate and the simple cipher employed in some private letters. Suetonius had also seen letters of Augustus (*Aug.* 71.2-4, 87.1), and he had noted idiosyncrasies of Augustus' writings and orthography (*Aug.* 87.3, 88). Augustus did not divide words, and, if he lacked space to complete a word at the end of a line, instead of placing the extra letters at the beginning of the next line he placed them there under the same line, with a mark around them, schoolgirl fashion. In orthography he preferred phonetic spelling to theoretical accuracy, and sometimes was guilty of carelessness.

Suetonius and Augustus

Suetonius possibly means us to understand that he had seen two books of poetry in Augustus' own hand (*Aug.* 85.2); his passage begins noncommittally: *Unus liber extat scriptus ab eo hexametris versibus . . .*; but it seems unlikely that there would be many copies. One of these two books was in hexameters and only perhaps on an historical subject relating to Sextus Pompey, but the topic and the title were both *Sicilia*. The second book, also of modest size, comprised epigrams which he largely composed while at his bath.⁷ Since Pliny the Younger also refers to epigrams of Augustus in *Ep.* 5.3.2, 25, as does Martial 11.20, I doubt that they could have been in a holograph copy.

Suetonius could vouch for Nero's having composed his own poetry, since he had handled Nero's own poetical notebooks (*Nero* 52): *Venere in manus meas pugillares libellique cum quibusdam notissimis versibus ipsius chiographo scriptis*. These drafts showed Nero, although gifted with facility, in the throes of composition, for they exhibited deletions, erasures, and corrections.

Among what we might call "museum displays," Suetonius had been pleased that he had himself acquired a bronze statuette of Augustus as a child, with its fading inscription in iron letters to prove that Augustus had once borne the cognomen of *Thurinus*. He made a gift of this figurine to the Emperor Hadrian, who revered it among the lares of his private apartments (*Aug.* 7.1). Suetonius also calls it to his reader's attention that the statue

of Victoria which is "now" in the senate house (*Aug.* 100.2) figured in the proposals of the senate in connection with the funeral of Augustus, when it was suggested that the procession should pass through the *Porta Triumphalis*, with this Victoria in the lead.

If the traveller went to the chariot races in Suetonius' day, he should not fail to note the ivory equestrian statue carried in the opening parade, for that statue was the gift of Titus to the memory of the ill-fated friend of his youth, Britannicus, son of Claudius (*Tit.* 2). Suetonius relates that Titus had been brought up at court along with Britannicus, and that a kind of phrenologist (*metoposcopus*) had then predicted that Titus would rule but that Britannicus would not. The youths were so friendly that Titus partook of, and fell ill of, the draught that destroyed Britannicus. It was in memory of such things that Titus erected in the palace a gold statue to Britannicus and dedicated the processional statue of ivory.

The emperors were themselves collectors of sorts. Augustus (*Aug.* 72.3) apparently did not care to adorn his country-seats with statues and pictures so much as he preferred antiquities and rarities. Some of these, at Capri in Suetonius' time, were the enormous limbs of huge beasts and wild animals, the so-called "bones of giants" and "arms of heroes." We may surmise that these bones were the product of ill-informed palaeontology, since the skull and tusk of a prehistoric elephant were found in Rome in 1932 when a cutting was made through the Velia for the then Via dell' Impero.⁸

Caligula (*Calig.* 52), in more frenetic style, sometimes wore the cuirass of Alexander the Great which had been taken from that worthy's coffin. Nero, on his return from Greece (*Nero* 25.1), entered Rome in the triumphal chariot formerly used by Augustus.

When Vitellius was first called emperor by the insurgent troops in Germany (*Vit.* 8.1), he held in his hand, as he was carried about, the drawn sword of Julius Caesar. This sword had been taken from a shrine of Mars and presented to him by an unidentified person. Vitellius (*Vit.* 10.3) later sent to Cologne as a dedication to Mars the dagger with which his predecessor Otho had slain himself.

Vespasian had been reared by his paternal grandmother, and he was devoted to her memory (*Vesp.* 2.1). On high days and holidays he continued to drink from a little silver cup which had once been hers.

Suetonius and Birthplaces

Suetonius goes into detail on the subject of birthplaces, often as the objects of pilgrimage, writing something of this sort about half his Caesars. Augustus' birthplace was in the *regio Palatina*, in the quarter designated as *ad Capita bubula* in lieu of a precise street and number (*Aug.* 5). The visitor

would find there a *sacrarium*, a part of the old homestead sanctified some time after Augustus' death. The minutes of the senate recorded that the sanctification took place after a young patrician, on trial for adultery, requested leniency on the plea that he was the possessor, almost the sacristan, of the ground first touched by Augustus at birth. The senate ordered consecration of that portion of the house to forestall similar scandal in the future.

It was permissible also to visit the country house of Augustus' childhood near Velitrae (*Aug.* 6), where the nursery was small and resembled a pantry. Local pride asserted that Augustus had been born there, while local superstition fostered the legend that a new owner who tried to sleep in the nursery had been preternaturally ejected from the chamber, bedding and all. The theme of pristine parsimony is retained in Suetonius' description of the furniture and household possessions of Augustus when emperor (*Aug.* 73), for the couches and tables surviving to Suetonius' era were scarcely elegant enough to grace a private home of any pretensions.

The birthplace of Caligula was obscure. The Elder Pliny claimed that it was at the village Ambitarvium (Ambitarvius?) above Coblenz (*Confluentes*) in the land of the Treveri (*Calig.* 8.1), adducing as proof altars there inscribed *Ob Agrippinae Puerperium*. Lentulus Gaetulicus wrote that Caligula was born at Tibur, and others thought that the unholy spot was in the legions' winter-quarters. Suetonius adduced evidence in favor of Antium (*Calig.* 8.2-5), noting that it was two daughters that the Elder Agrippina produced on the Rhine frontier. It is not surprising that Agrippina's numerous progeny should have confused the authorities, and it is doubtful that the birthplace of Caligula, if known, would have aroused sentiments of veneration.

Suetonius appears to give in his text road direction for the visitor to Galba's birthplace, described as being in a villa located on a hill near Tarracina, on the left as one goes to Fundi (*Galba* 4.1). Vespasian, unimpressed by his status as *princeps*, frequently revisited the scenes of his childhood, where he had carefully kept the old estate unchanged (*Vesp.* 2.1). Titus was born in Rome near a Septizonium, in an humble dwelling, and specifically in a tiny dark room which was still exhibited to the curious in Suetonius' day (*Tit.* 1). Domitian was also born in Rome (*Dom.* 1.1), in the sixth region of the city in the street called *ad Malum Punicum*, in a house he subsequently converted into the *templum gentis Flaviae*. I gather that this temple served as the Flavian mausoleum (*Dom.* 17.3).

One would expect rather more about tombs, but I can adduce only one exotic item guaranteed to arrest the attention of the vulgarly curious, and pretty clearly visited by Suetonius (*Nero* 50). Nero's re-

mains were laid to rest in the family sepulcher of the Domitii, which, located on the Pincian (*collis Hortulorum*), was visible from the Campus Martius. In that monument was a sarcophagus of porphyry marble, with an altar of Luna marble above it and a railing of Thasian stone around it: *In eo monumento solium porphyretici marmoris, superstante Lunensi ara, circumsaepum est lapide Thasio*. Neat, and very gaudy.

Falsification in Family Records

Everyone recalls Livy's complaint (8.40) that old family records were a source of historical falsification, a tradition of genteel fabrication persistent in the later historical period too. Flattery, for example, sought to demonstrate the prominence of the Octavii at Velitrae (*Aug.* 1). A street (*vicus*) in a populous portion of that city long ago went by the name of *Octavius*, and it was formerly possible to view (*ostendebatur*) an altar consecrated by an Octavius in the early days. There once was also a pertinent decree, no longer extant (*extabat*), perpetuating a custom which began upon the occasion when Octavius, prevented by enemy incursion from properly completing a sacrifice to Mars, went forth to win a battle. This public decree provided that half-raw *exta* should thereafter be offered to Mars, and that the remainder of the sacrifice was to be given to the Octavii.

Suetonius pointedly observes that he could discover no scrap of evidence to support the allegation (*Vesp.* 1.4) that Vespasian's great-grandfather, himself from the Transpadane region, had been a contractor for migratory labor which each year went from Umbria to work in the Sabine fields. In *Vesp.* 1.3 he prefers to emphasize the distinction of Vespasian's mother, Vespasia Polla. He tells us that the traveller could observe, at the sixth milestone as he went from Nursia to Spolegium, a place on a mountain top called Vespasiae, where there was a number of monuments of the Vespasii, a good indication of the distinction and antiquity of the family.

Vespasian himself had more sense and fewer pretensions (*Vesp.* 12). He only laughed at those who attempted to trace the origin of the Flavian family back to the founding-fathers of Reate and to the companion of Hercules whose monument "is" extant on the Via Salaria. Such pretensions surely were incompatible with the statues which used to exist (*manebant*) to Vespasian's father as an honorable publican in Asia (*Vesp.* 1.2).

A strikingly incongruous assortment is associated with Tiberius, ranging from babyhood to full tyranny. In Suetonius' era there were on exhibition at Baiae a mantle, a clasp, and golden *bullae* which had been presented to him in Sicily by Pompeia, sister of Sextus Pompey (*Tib.* 6.3). She must have made him

these presents quickly, for Tiberius' father had not lingered long in Sicily, irritated because he did not receive an immediate audience with Sextus Pompey and because he was not allowed to display the *fascēs* (Tib. 4.3).

When Tiberius as general was en route to Illyricum (Tib. 14.3), he was instructed by the lot he drew at the oracle of Geryon near Padua that he would receive a reply to his query if he cast golden dice (actually *tali*) into the fountain of Aponus. Tiberius was favored with the supreme number, and those dice remained there underwater in Suetonius' day.

Tiberius the tyrant evoked a delightful shudder in the tourist, like the Castel Nuovo today. The ancient visitor to Capri was shown a lofty spot associated with Tiberius' cruelty (Tib. 62.2): *Carnificinae eius ostenditur locus Capreis*. The emperor ordered his condemned victims, after prolonged and exquisite tortures, to be cast from that eminence into the sea. Below there was a detachment of marines, instructed to use poles and oars to extinguish any flickering spark of life in the bodies of the unfortunates.

Tree Portents

In the spirit of the true tourist Suetonius derived pleasure from contemplating sights no longer discernible. The quality of the story about Livia's villa at Veii (her *Veientanum*) is indicated by our finding a similar version of it also in Pliny HN 15.136-137. Suetonius tells the full and eerie tale thus. "Once upon a time" Livia, visiting this villa right after her marriage to Augustus, was astonished to have an eagle drop a white hen into her lap, with the hen retaining in its beak the twig of laurel it had held when lifted from the ground. From this hen, by Livia's instructions, there developed such a flock that the villa is "today" called *ad Gallinas*. From this twig grew the laurel grove whence the Caesars plucked their laurels for triumph, and where they planted their laurels after triumph. The tree planted by each Caesar drooped at his death, and in the last year of Nero's reign all the grove dried up from the roots, while the whole flock of chickens perished. Thus ended the Julio-Claudian line (Galba 1).

The upstart Flavians had a similar arboreal prodigy. In their suburban villa grew an ancient oak, sacred to Mars. As Vespasia, mother of Vespasian, gave birth to three children, this oak did its imperial duty (Vesp. 5.2). At the birth of a daughter, who did not live a year, the branch it sent forth was feeble and soon dried up. The tree sent forth a strong and spreading branch at the birth of Vespasian's brother, but it favored Vespasian's birth with a branch as big as a tree. When Vespasian's father, after due consultation with *haruspices*, solemnly reported to his mother that her grandson would one

day be emperor, that good old lady roared with laughter that she still had her senses while her son had lost his. *Haruspices* and tree had their way, however, because Vespasian reigned and this portentous oak had a companion in fate, a cypress. This latter tree, taking over for the oak, was on Vespasian's family estate. When it had been uprooted and laid flat by a mysterious cause, for there was no storm, it was found upright on the very next day, greener and stronger than ever (Vesp. 5.4). We learn from the life of Domitian (15.2) that the cypress performed this feat as an omen for Vespasian while he was still of private station, completing its appointed purpose by again collapsing suddenly as Domitian drew near his end.

Suetonius also has a little of the flavor of "the oldest inhabitant" when he points out that Augustus (Aug. 43.1) staged a naval combat in an artificial pond near the Tiber in the place where in his own day was the grove of the Caesars (*Caesarum nemus*).⁹ Like the unnamed *seniores* in Tacitus (Ann. 15.41) who longed for the monuments of bygone days when Rome arose new and modern from the ashes of Nero's fire, Suetonius too (Nero 38.2) felt impelled to mourn the historical and artistic losses in that catastrophe, concluding with the touching clause: *et quidquid visendum atque memorabile ex antiquitate duraverat*. Just nothing left to show the country cousin who had run up to town for a few days!

Walter Allen, Jr.

University of North Carolina

NOTES

1 Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire*,⁷ translated by L. A. Magnus, reflects the proper Baedeker spirit when he calls chap. 7 of his first volume "Touring under the Empire." Part 7 of that chapter is "What interested Roman tourists," and pp. 368-378 is especially concerned with historical curiosities. Although Friedländer mentions Suetonius' study of such matters, he gives the *Vitae Caesarum* summary attention, notably on p. 377, in the process of a multifarious inventory for the entire Roman world. Friedländer's collection of material is of vastly wider scope than mine, and I should urge it upon any reader who has forgotten the contents of that somewhat nonsensical section of a noble monument of scholarship. 2 "Seianus on the Aventine," *Hermes* 84 (1956) 257-266. 3 R. Lanciani, *The Destruction of Ancient Rome* (New York 1899) 87-88. The 4.22 is Lanciani's reference to Procopius' *Goth.*; I think a clearer reference is 8.22.5-16, where the description is interesting, but not so aboriginal as Lanciani's. 4 A. H. Griffiths, *Temple Treasures: A Study Based on the Works of Cicero and the "Fasti" of Ovid* (Philadelphia 1943); R. Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome* (Boston and New York 1893) 52-56. 5 R. Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome* (Boston and New York 1897) 325. 6 I have, of course, made full use of the editions, commentaries, and translations of Suetonius, for many of these curious passages are not easy to interpret. My quotations essentially follow Ihm's Tuebner text of 1933. 7 For a discussion of these two books of verse, see H. Malcovati (ed.), *Imperatoris Caesaris Augusti Operum Fragmenta*³ (Turin 1948) x-xiv, with ample bibliography. Suetonius has the only reference to the *Sicilia*. 8 A. W. Van Buren, *Ancient Rome, as Revealed by Recent Discoveries* (London 1936) 10-12. 9 It appears that the *naumachia* was not filled in, but that it was surrounded by the grove: P. Grimal, *Les jardins romains à la fin de la république et aux deux premiers siècles de l'empire* (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 155; Paris 1943) 122, n. 6; 145; 182, n. 3. The commentaries remark that Suetonius' phrasing is similar to *Mon. Anc.* 23.

Roman Remains in Britain

It will doubtless appear to most readers that the topic of Roman remains in Britain* is as antiquated as the ruins themselves. But a recent publication entitled "War and Archaeology in Britain" serves to remind us that the bombing of London, of Canterbury, and of other ancient areas has brought to light hitherto unknown foundations of Roman fortifications, pavements, and artifacts that were concealed in the earth and hence unknown.

During the final weeks of my stay in England in the summer of 1956, a new discovery in the city of London was announced, and I obtained permission to use the official photographs. I also obtained a picture of a Roman coffin unearthed at York on July 11 while I was there. It contained the remains of a young woman of Roman times.

Excavations in progress at Canterbury since 1944 have resulted in the discovery of three mosaic panels forming part of a tessellated pavement in Butchery

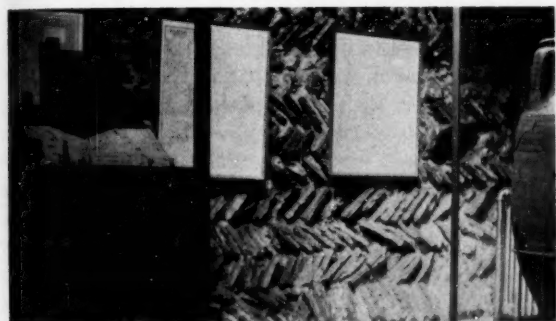


Figure 1. Roman Brickwork (Museum at Colchester)

Lane. These formed the floor of a building erected probably in 100 A.D.

Recent Roman finds in London are now exhibited in the Guildhall Museum, and were pointed out to me there by Mr. Norman Cook, F.S.A., the Keeper of the Museum. Perhaps of special interest is a wooden ladder found in a Roman well in a remarkable state of preservation. It is about fifteen feet in length.

Temple of Mithras

In the same museum there is displayed a group of sculptures arranged as they were found near the entrance of a Mithras temple at Walbrook (1953-1954): there is a marble head of Serapis, the Graeco-Egyptian god of the underworld, with a grain measure (*modius*) decorated with olive branches upon his head. The marble hand beside it holds what appears to be the hilt of a dagger. This hand is more than twice life size. The third figure is a statuette of Mercury with a ram and a tortoise.

In 1946 a splendid group of silver tableware was discovered practically unharmed near Mildenhall, in Suffolk. Apparently it was buried some sixteen cen-

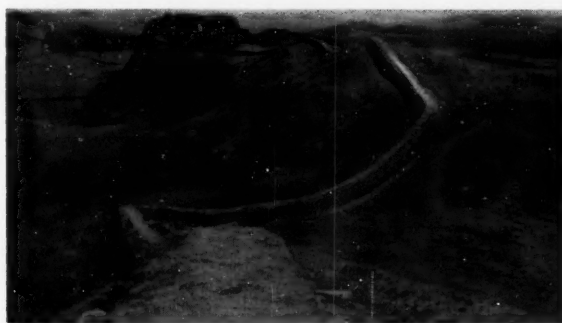


Figure 2. Hadrian's Wall between Housesteads and Twice Brewed

turies ago, during the turbulent closing years of Roman rule in Britain. It may be seen today in the British Museum.

The city of Bath with its hot springs of healing waters—known to the Romans as *Aquae Sulis*—is probably one of the best known Roman resorts in Britain surviving into the present.

Chester, whose very name perpetuates the Roman *castra* on the river Dee, occupied some two thousand years ago by the Roman Twentieth Legion (*Valeria Victrix*)—who knew the estuary as *Deva*—is a center of archaeological interest.

Ancient Colchester

Old *Camolodunum* is represented by present day Colchester. Here it was that the British warrior queen Boudicca raised the standard of revolt about the middle of the first century A.D. Her forces are said to have amounted to 230,000 men. The Romans under Suetonius Paulinus, after putting down the native uprising, massacred 70,000 people in reprisal. A new temple to Nero replaced the original one to Claudius, whose foundations may still be seen under the museum of Roman antiquities there. It may be of interest to note in passing that, of the Roman emperors, Julius, Claudius, and Hadrian all came in person to Britain, and that Septimius Severus died at York. Colchester (in Essex) claims to be the oldest occupied town in Britain. It was the recognized metropolis when Claudius invaded the island in 43 A.D.

(Concluded on page 7)



Figure 3. The Author on Hadrian's Wall

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E D I T O R I A L

Servus Servorum Dei

In the long line of Roman pontiffs the late Pope Pius XII magnificently exemplified the full sense and spirit of the unassuming title *Servus Servorum Dei*, "Servant of the Servants of God." For he was in every respect the Pope of all the people and of all peoples, timeless and universal in his outlook, and yet deeply concerned for the least of the little ones who comprised his world-wide flock. To those close at hand, as well as to those remote, he was in very truth the *Pastor angelicus*, the angelic Pastor and Shepherd with a father's concern for all. Untiring in his zeal to come close to his fellow men and women and children, he was lavish of his time and energy in the granting of audiences, despite a rigorous program of work administrative, constructive, and forward-looking.

So responsive was he, too, to the interests and queries of special groups who sought his counsel and direction that he could readily be styled, in an almost incredible number of instances, the Pope of this specific vocation or calling or that. Yet amid these multitudinous and truly universal concerns, his interest in the classical languages and cultures is outstanding. One of his latest utterances stressed the indebtedness of later times to the great thinkers of classical antiquity. He was outspoken in his reprobation of the Latin tongue and urgent in his exhortations that it be taught effectively and well. And it was during his pontificate that the new journal *Latinitas*, expressed exclusively in the vehicle of choice Latin, came forth from Vatican City, gladdening and refreshing the hearts of those enthusiasts who may have feared that the day of written Latin had long since been spent.

But there are two aspects of his activities and personality particularly appealing to classicists and to all who think as classicists do. The first of these, of course, is the gracious permission extended by him several years ago for the extensive reproduction in microfilm of the storied manuscript treasures of the Vatican Library, and for the use of these far across the seas in distant America, on the campus of midwestern Saint Louis University. Already these microfilm holdings are proving a rich boon to scholarly encouragement and achievement. In them is embedded in generous portion the wisdom of the ages; in them are veins, often golden—sometimes previously worked, sometimes as yet untouched, but all awaiting the hand of the scholarly investigator. Their presence in the heart of America opens an opulent and ready treasure-house of research for those in the classical and related disciplines, not only in the vicinity of Saint Louis but in all America. In the Pius XII Memorial Library, now in the building, they will be worthily housed.

A second notable tie of the late Supreme Pontiff with those of the classical field was his remarkable facility in languages. Latin, to be sure, he employed with ease and fluency. But he had, in addition, a command of various modern languages, such that he could slip from one tongue to another in greeting various nationalities among the throngs that came as pilgrims to the Vatican or to Castel Gandolfo. One sees, not inappropriately, a reminiscence of that primitive Pentecost when the assembled throngs came to listen to the strange new tidings proclaimed by fishermen, and each man heard the inspiring message of salvation in his own tongue, the language in which he was born. As fully as he could, Pius XII spoke to his hearers, too, in their native speech; as fully as he could, he maintained an intelligent and lively interest in their individual nationalities and localities and communities.

His pontificate of almost twenty years was a notable and distinguished one. His wide travels before election to his high office brought him to many corners of the earth—including many spots in the United States—so that he knew great numbers of specific localities and situations by personal observation. His vast influence as head of the Roman Catholic Church was directed towards peace and justice among all mankind: he was truly "the pope of peace." History will rate him highly; and classicists specifically, now and hereafter, will have cause to remember him as a friend and champion.

—W. C. K.

The power of poetry is inseparable, in Pindar's thought, from the power of music, and both are symbolized by the lyre.—Sir Richard C. Jebb, *Growth and Influence of Classical Greek Poetry*.

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Roman Remains in Britain

(Concluded from page 5)

There is a well-known Roman villa at Bignor Sussex that contains six or seven fine mosaic pavements which rank with the best to be found in England.

At Chedworth there is a Roman country-house: a self-contained farm, dating from about the end of the second century A.D.

The Roman Wall

But, of course, the most famous of all Roman remains in Britain is the great wall of defense built to protect the Roman province from the wild tribes of the north. We recall the soldiers' song in "The King's Henchman," by Edna St. Vincent Millay:

Oh, Caesar, great wert thou,
And Hadrian was thy name!
Thine eye did itch till a Roman ditch
Was dug in British shame!

The wall that bears Hadrian's name and was started in 122 A.D. extended from Carlisle to Newcastle-upon-Tyne — ultimately about eighty Roman miles in length. It was finished about 128 A.D.

After I had been shown near Carlisle a battered fragment—"masonry brute, mishandled"—unworthy to bear the great Emperor's name, I decided to leave my party at York and go back to see the remains of this great landmark of the Roman occupation in central England, where it is still possible to walk for fully two miles on top of the wall.

I made my way, therefore, by train and bus, to Housesteads, the site of an ancient Roman fort in Northumberland, which was called *Borcovicium*. This was on July 11—a rare day of sunshine in a summer of almost continuous rain. I was so fortunate as to be able to take thirty-six uniformly good kodachrome pictures, some of which are reproduced with this article.

Charles Christopher Mierow

Colorado College,
Colorado Springs, Colorado

NOTE

* Adapted from a paper read before the Eighty-eighth Annual Meeting of the American Philological Association, Philadelphia, December 28-30, 1956.

Note to CB Correspondents

Beginning with this issue, the address of THE CLASSICAL BULLETIN is being changed to the following: 221 North Grand Boulevard, Saint Louis 3, Missouri. All communications affecting the publication, as well as all communications to the Department of Classical Languages, at Saint Louis University, should use the address now indicated. Local Saint Louisans can be assured that the offices of THE CLASSICAL BULLETIN and of staff members of the Department remain precisely where they have been, in DeSmet Hall, 3647 West Pine Boulevard.

Verses—Original and from the English

Nox

Nox tristis est mihi et superba sidera
Et flores occulsi tenebrarum gradu;
Ipsam suo fletu fatigatum mare.
Serus diei est, opprimit me iam sopor.
Lucis tamen paulum superba sidera;
Durare nunc magis volo paulisper hic.

Bellarmino College, Francis X. Gillen, S.J.
Plattsburgh, New York

I Wake and Feel the Fell of Dark

I wake and feel the fell of dark, not day.
What hours, O what black hours we have spent
This night! What sights you, heart, saw; ways you
went!

And more must, in yet longer light's delay.
With witness I speak this. But where I say
Hours I mean years, mean life. And my lament
Is cries countless, cries like dead letters sent
To dearest him that lives alas! away.

—Gerard Manley Hopkins

Excitor, et casum noctis video neque lucem.
O quales horas pullas consumpsimus umbra!
Quales vidisti res, cor; per semitas isti!
Multis eundum est, tam longinque luce retenta.
Haec loquor expertus. Sed qua parte eloquor horas
Significare annos volo dicere tempora vitae.
Atque meus planctus gemitus sunt innumerales,
Planctus ut exanimes carissimum epistolae ad illum
Missae cui sedes sunt heu regione remota.

Bellarmino College, Edward F. Salmon, S.J.
Plattsburgh, New York

With Rue My Heart Is Laden

With rue my heart is laden
For golden friends I had,
For many a rose-lipt maiden
And many a lightfoot lad.

By brooks too broad for leaping
The lightfoot boys are laid;
The rose-lipt girls are sleeping
In fields where roses fade.

—A. E. Housman

Corde moroso doleo severe
Aureos olim comites adeptos,
Virgines vultu roseo virentes
Atque sodales.

Dormiunt laeti pueri tacentes
Semper ad rivos agiles et amplos;
Virgines blandae bene conquiescunt
In sterili arvo.

Bellarmino College, Richard Wolf, S.J.
Plattsburgh, New York

Breviora

Deaths among Classicists, I

The Reverend Gustave Dumas, S.J., dean of the Fordham University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences from 1938 to 1951, died of a heart ailment on May 28, 1958, at the age of fifty-nine years. His field of major interest was French literature, following studies at the Sorbonne leading to the degree of doctor of letters, and he had served at Fordham as head of the department of Romance Languages. In his earlier years he had been a teacher of Latin at Georgetown University. He is survived by a sister, Miss Coletta Dumas, of Brooklyn, New York.

Victor Dwight Hill, professor emeritus of classical languages and archaeology at Ohio University, died in Athens, Ohio, on June 20, 1958, at the age of seventy-four years. As head of his department from 1920 until his retirement in 1954 he had distinguished himself by his constructive interest in classical students and teaching on all levels. One of the founders of the Ohio Classical Conference, he led in its work first as secretary-treasurer and then as president, and served as chairman of an Ohio committee in editing the book *Teaching First-Year Latin*, still a standard manual of methodology. Mr. Hill served for some years as an associate editor of *The Classical Journal*, and was president of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South in 1935-1936. Not only was he active in the founding of Eta Sigma Phi as a national organization, but he also labored effectively to bring the Fraternity through the difficult years of World War II.

Grandson of the renowned Theodor Mommsen, *Theodor E. Mommsen*, professor of mediaeval history at Cornell University since 1954, died on July 18, 1958, at Ithaca, New York, from an overdose of barbiturates, at the age of fifty-three years, according to the report of the local county coroner's office. He was a graduate of the University of Berlin, and had been a research assistant for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. In addition to his work at Cornell, he had taught at Johns Hopkins, Princeton, and Yale Universities, and at the Groton School. Two brothers, Konrad and Ernst, and a sister Helene, all of Germany, survive him.

A senior staff member of the firm of H. P. Kraus, dealer in rare books and manuscripts, *Dr. Hans Nachod* died in Memorial Hospital, Jamaica, Queens, on July 23, 1958, at the age of seventy-three years. Holder of the doctorate in classical archaeology from the University of Leipzig, he was for many years editor of the fine arts journal, *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*. He came to America in 1939, where his activities included teaching posts at Marymount College, Hunter College, and Cornell University. He is survived by his widow, Lilly, and by a son, Dr. Frederick C. Nachod, of Kinderhook, New York.

Dr. Rafal Taubenschlag, authority on ancient Roman law, died in Warsaw under tragic circumstances, according to news reports, on June 25, 1958, at the age of seventy-seven years. A specialist on Graeco-Roman law in the light of papyrus finds, he was a professor of ancient law at the University of Warsaw. He had come to the United States during World War II; here he served on the staffs of the New School for Social Research and of Columbia University. He returned to Poland in 1947.

Editor's Note: Thanks are due to Professor H. W. Benario, now at Sweet Briar College, for help with these obituary notices; and to Professor Paul R. Murphy, of Ohio University, who very fittingly composed the note on Professor Hill.

Meetings of Classical Interest, I

October 17-18, 1958: Fall Meeting of the *Kentucky Classical Association*, Bellarmine College, Louisville. President of the Association is Professor Robert J. Buck, University of Kentucky.

October 24, 1958: Annual Meeting of the *Foreign Language Section*, Oklahoma Education Association, in Oklahoma City. Chairman of the Section is Miss Virginia Quesenbery, Central High School (Tulsa).

October 25, 1958: Opening Joint Meeting of the *New York Classical Club* and the *Catholic Classical Association of Greater New York*, at Keating Hall, Fordham University, beginning with a luncheon at 1:00 p. m. President of the NYCC is Professor Raymond Mandra, Hunter College; secretary-treasurer is Professor Stanley Akielaszek, Fordham University. President of the CCAGNY is Brother Patrick Collins, F.S.C.H., Iona College (New Rochelle); secretary-treasurer is Sister M. Liguori, R.D.C., Good Counsel College (White Plains).

November 1, 1958: Autumn Meeting of the *Ontario Classical Association*, at Queen's University, Kingston.

November 7, 1958: Annual Meeting of the *Department of Classics*, Missouri State Teachers Association, at Kansas City, opening with a luncheon at 12:15 p. m., at Hotel Continental. Program Chairman is Professor William E. Gwatkin, University of Missouri; president, Professor Norman Gienapp, Saint Paul's College (Concordia); secretary-treasurer, Miss Hazel Tompkins, Cleveland High School (Saint Louis).

November 7, 1958: Fall Meeting of the *New Jersey Classical Association*, in the Garden Lounge, Hotel Dennis, Atlantic City. President of the Association is Mr. Kenneth V. Smida, Watchung Hills Regional High School; secretary is Mary Loughren, West Orange High School. A *Bulletin* is edited by Professor Carolyn Block, Montclair State College.

November 28-29, 1958: Autumn Meeting of the *Classical Association of the Atlantic States*, in Atlantic City, New Jersey. President of the CAAS is Professor Eugene W. Miller, University of Pittsburgh; secretary-treasurer is Professor F. Gordon Stockin, Houghton College.

December 28-30, 1958: Ninetieth Annual Meeting of the *American Philological Association*, in conjunction with the Sixtieth General Meeting of the *Archaeological Institute of America*, at the Netherland Hilton Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio. President of the APA is Professor Gertrude Smith, University of Chicago; secretary-treasurer is Professor James W. Poultny, Johns Hopkins University. President of the AIA is Professor George E. Mylonas, Washington University; general secretary is Professor LeRoy Campbell, Brooklyn College.

December 29-30, 1958: Annual Meeting of the *Linguistic Society of America*, Park Sheraton Hotel, New York City. President of the Society is Professor Henry M. Hoenigswald, University of Pennsylvania; secretary-treasurer is Professor Archibald A. Hill, University of Texas.

Personalia Quaedam, I

Phillip DeLacy, head of the department of classics at Washington University, is spending the current academic year as visiting professor of classics at Cornell University.

The third annual Harvard University Press Faculty Prize has been awarded to *Franklin L. Ford*, associate professor of history at Harvard, for his volume, *Strasbourg in Transition, 1648-1789*. "The Prize, which includes an award of two thousand dollars, is given annually to the author of the most distinguished contribution to scholarship by a member of the Harvard Faculty to be published by the Harvard University Press," according to a statement included in the pertinent news release from the Press on June 10, 1958. Honorable mention for the Prize was awarded to *Cedric H. Whitman*, associate professor of Greek and Latin at Harvard, for his book on *Homer and the Homeric Tradition*.

George E. Mylonas, head of the department of art and archaeology at Washington University, has been named a life member of the National Academy of Athens, the only American member of this group of forty persons.

Entitling his column of December 24, 1957, "A Practical Suggestion," the well known columnist *George E. Sokolsky*, dealing with the language confusion today especially in the international exchange of scientific data, says: "The practical suggestion is that science accept Latin as a universal language as it was up to the nineteenth century for the learned." Continuing, he adds: "Esperanto . . . just means adding more baggage. . . . Why manufacture another language when there is a workable one on hand?"

The Reverend Raymond V. Schoder, S.J., of West Baden College (West Baden, Indiana), director of the summer sessions of the Villa Vergiliana at Cumae from 1952 through 1957, has been named president of the Indiana Society of the Archaeological Institute of America and also of the Indiana Classical Conference. The latter organization, formerly known as the Indiana College Classical Teachers' Association, has changed its name to indicate its inclusion of high school teachers; *Gertrude Johnson*, Logansport High School, is vice-president; and *Theodore Bedrick*, Wabash College (Crawfordsville) is secretary-treasurer.

Hugh Taylor and WWNFF

The appointment of Dr. Hugh Taylor, dean emeritus of Princeton University's Graduate School, as first president of the year-old Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation was announced by Cleo F. Craig, chairman of the Board

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of Trustees. The Foundation's main objective is to recruit outstanding students for careers as college teachers.

Sir Hugh Taylor, one of the country's distinguished chemists, who this summer completed 44 years of continuous service on the Princeton Faculty, became dean of the Graduate School in 1945. Immediately after World War II, he supported Professor Whitney J. Oates, chairman of Princeton's department of classics, in his plans for Princeton's pioneering Woodrow Wilson Fellowship Program.

Mr. Craig also announced the appointment of Dr. Hans Rosenhaupt as National Director of the Fellowship Foundation. In accepting his new post, Dr. Rosenhaupt relinquished his recent appointment as Assistant Provost of Columbia University. Mr. Rosenhaupt, a member of the Modern Language Association and of the American Association of University Professors, had been associated with the Wilson Program during the past year as chairman of the committee administering the program in New York, Connecticut, and Rhode Island.

In 1957, after the Wilson Fellowships had been jointly underwritten for five years by thirty-seven American universities and by grants from the Carnegie Corporation and General Education Board, the present program was brought into being with a grant of \$24,500,000 from the Ford Foundation for a five-year period.

In its first year of operation the Foundation granted fellowships to almost a thousand United States and Canadian students who will enter graduate schools this fall. One of the distinctive features of this recruitment program is that any college faculty member may nominate any eligible student. The Wilson Foundation's new headquarters at 32 Nassau Street, Princeton, New Jersey, were opened on August 1, 1958.

National Director, WWNFF,
Princeton, New Jersey

Hans Rosenhaupt

ACL Scholarships for Secondary Latin Teachers

The American Classical League is offering for the summer of 1959 to teachers of Latin in secondary schools three scholarships of \$500 each (plus coach fare up to \$75 to port of embarkation) for the summer session, either of the American Academy in Rome or of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. Winners may accept other scholarship aid in addition to these grants.

Application forms may be obtained from the chairman of the committee, Professor Robert G. Hoerber, Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri. Other members of the committee are: Mrs. Philip W. Clark, New Haven, Connecticut; Professor Chauncey E. Finch, Saint Louis University; Miss Anna Goldsberry, Peoria, Illinois; Mr. Alvin Wakeland, Kennett Square, Pennsylvania.

Completed applications, including transcripts of undergraduate and graduate study, if convenient, are due in the hands of the chairman by January 1, 1959. Selection will be made soon after February 1, 1959.

Westminster College,
Fulton, Missouri

Robert G. Hoerber

Certamen Capitolinum X

Institutum Romanis studiis provehendis, auspiciis Summo litterarum artiumque apud Italos Curatore et Romanae civitatis Magistro, ad novum prosae Latinae orationis certamen omnes omnium gentium Latini sermonis studiosos homines invitat, sperans fore ut ex nobilissimorum ingeniorum concertatione aliquid emicet, quod Quiritium maiestate facundiae sit dignum.

Certaminis praemium, quod Urbis Praemium nuncupatur, erit argenteum sigillum, lupam Capitolinam imitatum, honorificentissimum Romanae civitatis munus, in basi victoris nomen atque annum et diem certaminis praefereens. Huic sigillo Summus litterarum artiumque liberalium Curator ducenta denariorum Italico milia ex aerario adici iussit. Ceteri petitores, qui digni habiti sint, laude ornabuntur. Ex iis autem qui victori proximus de agone discesserit, argenteo nummo decorabitur, a civitate Romana item donato, qui in antica parte Capitoli imaginem, in aversa litterati viri nomen atque annum diemque certaminis exhibebit. Huic quoque muneri Summus litterarum artiumque liberalium Curator centum milia denariorum Italico milia ex aerario iussit addi.

Exitum certaminis a. d. XI. Kal. Mai. a. MDCCCCLVIII, die Urbis natali, in aedibus Capitolinis, Romanae civitatis Magister in oratione, quam de more habiturus est, renuntiabit.

Scripta quae praemio ornabuntur typis excudenda, si visum erit, curabit Institutum Romanis studiis provehendis, ac proinde post annum tantum integrum erit auctoribus eadem in lucem edere.

Leges Certaminis

I) Fictis fabellis, commentariolis historicis, disputationibus philologis, denique omni prosae eloquentiae genere certare licet: sed praestantium ingeniorum nova experimenta Capitolinum Certamen requirit. Scripta quibus petitores certabunt ne puerorum gymnasiis sint destinata, ne mille et quingentis verbis breviora, ne prius in lucem edita, ne alio praemio ornata neve laude, neve ex alio sermone sint conversa.

II) Quinque libellorum suorum exemplaria vel machinula scriptoria perspicue exarata vel typis excussa et tabelliariorum diligentiae commendata mittant scriptores aemuli ad « Istituto di Studi Romani—Ufficio Latino—Piazza dei Cavalieri di Malta, n. 2—Roma » ante Kal. Februarias proximi anni non suo tamen distincta nomine ne in integumento quidem, quo conclusa sunt, sed sententia munita, quae eadem inscripta sit scidulae obsignatae, nomen domiciliumque scriptoris exhibenti.

III) Quinque viri iudices erunt a Summo litterarum artiumque liberalium Curatore et a civitatis Romanae Magistro et a Praeside Instituti nostri delecti. Hi post iudicium scidulas resignabunt, quae easdem quas scripta probata sententias praeferant. Scripta non probata, si repetita, reddentur: sin minus, una cum scidulis obsignatis, tertio exacto mense post iudicium publicatum, delebuntur igne.

D. Romae Kal. Mai. a. MDCCCCLVIII ab U. c. MMDCCXI
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Praeses Instituti

Rejoinder to Crehan Letter

To the Editor of THE CLASSICAL BULLETIN:

I appreciate the attention which Father Crehan has given to my view of his translation of Athenagoras (in *CB* 34 [November 1957] 11-12). Since, however, he has objected to "three points of historical importance" which I raised (in his Letter to the Editor in *CB* 34 [March 1958] 57), it may be worth discussing the points in a bit more detail than could be done in the course of a brief review.

I stated that "Athenagoras is not our only source of information for legislation with regard to the kiss of peace before 300 A.D., as is stated in the introduction (p. 25)." In his letter Father Crehan writes: "I did not overlook what is to be found on that subject in the Ethiopic version of Hippolytus' *Traditio Apostolica* . . . as it did not occur to me that anyone would want to take that passage as legislation of the Catholic Church prior to 300. It may represent what Hippolytus would have liked to introduce as such, but I do not see how anyone could take it as genuine legislation accepted by the orthodox." In my review I also might have observed that I was not unaware of the controversies about the absolute value of the *Traditio Apostolica*. However, after weighing the evidence, Gregory Dix comes to the conclusion: "We may safely take it that in outline and essentials the rites and customs to which the *Apostolic Tradition* bears witness were those practiced in the Roman Church in his own day, and in his own youth c. A.D. 180" (*The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St. Hippolytus of Rome* [London 1937] xxxix-xl). And this judgment seems to be essentially that of most patrologists. For example, one might cite the opinion of Altaner-Ferrua: "Lo scritto di Ippolito, che ci è tramandato soltanto nelle versioni copta, araba, etiopica e in piccola parte latina, è la più antica costituzione della Chiesa che si conosca e la fonte di quelle posteriori" (B. Altaner and A. Ferrua, *Patrologia* [Rome 1944] 28), or that of Father Quasten: "It has provided a new foundation for the history of the Roman liturgy and has given us the richest source of information that we possess in any form for our knowledge of the constitution and life of the Church in the first three centuries" (*Patrology* 2 [Westminster, Maryland, 1953] 181); or that of Dom B. Botte: "C'est bien l'état de la liturgie et de la discipline romaines au début du III^e siècle que nous trouvons ici et non et je ne sais quel projet plus ou moins fantaisiste de réforme, tel que nous en trouvons parfois dans l'histoire de l'Église" (*Hippolyte de Rome: La Tradition apostolique* [Paris 1946] 9). In his own *Early Christian Baptism and the Creed* (London 1948), Father Crehan refers to "the secondary baptismal ritual preserved in the Ethiopic version of Hippolytus" (p. 98) and considers "the baptismal ritual which is contained in the *Traditio apostolica* of Hippolytus . . . so important that it merits a study apart" (p. 159). It

would seem to me that the work has to be taken as a single piece. If it is to be used as a source for the liturgy of the early Roman church, why should it not also be taken as a source of legislation? Even considering the matter extrinsically, what would be more logical than to admit the following evolution in the restrictions on the kiss of peace; (1) the prohibition of "a second kiss for the motive of pleasure" (Athenagoras, *Embassy* 32); (2) the prohibition of the kiss of peace between members of opposite sexes (Hippolytus, *Apostolic Tradition* 18.4); and, finally, the complete segregation of the sexes in the churches (*Apostolic Constitutions* 2.67; 8.11)?

The second point of controversy is concerned with the dating of the Christus-Helios mosaic in the mausoleum of the Julii under St. Peter's. This representation is in itself of considerable importance, since it is the earliest known Christian mosaic. I maintained that it "can hardly be dated much earlier than the middle of the third century," which is slightly different from what I am quoted as saying: "hardly earlier than the middle of the third century." Be that as it may, I believe that Father Crehan is sustaining a lone position when he maintains in his letter "that it is safer to put it in the second than the third." In support of this position he cites Othmar Perler, *Die Mosaiken der Juliergruft im Vatikan* (Freiburg in der Schweiz 1953) as putting "the change of religion as not long after the erecting of the tomb" (p. 6), but in the very next sentence Perler gives essentially the same date as I suggested for the mosaic: "Stil und Thematik des Grabschmuckes gehören, wie sich im folgenden ergeben wird, der weit fortgeschrittenen ersten Hälfte des dritten Jahrhunderts an." Father Crehan's only real argument for the early date is iconographical, since the number of pagan burials in the mausoleum is somewhat irrelevant—this particular burial chamber is the smallest of those uncovered during the course of the Vatican excavations, and there is no reason to presume that there had to be any large number of deaths among the Julii soon after its erection, or that it was put up for sale or reconverted for Christian use immediately after it ceased to be used by pagans. Father Crehan believes that the mosaic is to be connected with the introduction of the pagan cult of *Sol Invictus* in the West, during the second half of the second century. Taken by itself, this argument has some validity, even though it seems strange to me that Christians would adopt for their own use a recently introduced pagan symbol. Still, this is an opinion provisionally sustained by Father Kirschbaum, one of the excavators of the tombs: "Claro que la representación de Helios se comprende mejor para la segunda mitad del siglo II que para la primera del III, a lo menos a juzgar por el desarrollo del simbolismo del Sol, según lo conocemos en su utilización por los emperadores" (*La Tumba de San Pedro y las Catacumbas Romanas* [Madrid 1954] 15). But in dating the mosaic, the entire redecoration of the interior of the mausoleum must be taken into account, and this places it, according to this same authority (along with the Christus-Helios mosaic), in the third century: "La geométrica de la parte baja de las paredes es del todo semejante a la de un monumento sepulcral del siglo III de la 'Isola sacra'. . . El conjunto de representaciones figuradas de este mausoleo: Buen Pastor, Jonás, el pescador y Helios, tienen su correspondencia en las pinturas de la llamada capilla de los Sacramentos, en San Calixto, así como en el sarcófago de Santa María la Antigua y en La Gayolle. Estas obras se dan como producciones típicas de la segunda mitad del siglo III" (pp. 16-17).

"The third point," according to Father Crehan, "concerns the value of what Tertullian has to say about the persecution of the Christians. Your reviewer accepts Tertullian's rhetorical cry: *Nominis proelium est* as sober history." This seems to me to be a conflation of two different objections that I raised, one dealing with a textual emendation, the other with the "legal basis" for the persecutions of the early Christians. With respect to the first of these I wrote: "It seems to me that he <Father Crehan> goes too far in rejecting Schwartz's *κελεύοντες μὴ δοῦλοποιεῖν* for the *κελεύοντες μὴ θυματοποιεῖν* of the manuscript on the ground that 'it would be ludicrous to suppose that the emperors had proscribed the Name and had said nothing about the *flagitia cohaerentia nomini* (pp. 126-127)'" I then urged that in the *Apologeticum* Tertullian had equivalently maintained what was contained in Schwartz's emendation. The point was not whether what Tertullian was writing was the truth or not, but whether Athenagoras could have attributed to the emperors the same kind of proscription as that described by Tertullian. That Tertullian's "rhetorical cry" is probably more "sober history" than Father Crehan will admit may be indicated by a fair

number of passages in the Apologists and authentic *acta martyrum* wherein the only grounds given for condemnation is the "Christian name"—the refusal to renounce the title of Christian (cf., for example, Justin *Apol.* 1.4, 2.2; Minucius Felix 6; Eusebius *E.H.* 5.1.44, 47; *Passio Ss. Scilitanorum* 10, 14; *Passio Ss. Felicitatis et Perpetuae* 6). But here we may be on common ground, since Father Crehan admits that the Christians' "stiff-necked obstinacy" . . . was a charge which Tertullian would have found it hard to meet." With regard to the legality of the persecutions, I stated that Father Crehan "seems to favor the opinion that there was a specific law proscribing Christianity (p. 130)." Such an opinion is, I believe, based on a misconception of the fundamental principles of Roman criminal law, at least during the Principate. The emperors were reluctant to pass general statutes, especially in criminal matters. However, Roman governors could interpret particular edicts or rescripts as being applicable to similar cases. There thus arose a universally recognized criminal law which was not really based on general statutes. The anomalies found in the persecutions of the Christians during the first century and a half of Christianity seem best explained by such an evolving consciousness on the part of Roman magistrates of the criminal character of Christianity. Hence Tertullian could rightfully argue that the Christians were being put to death for being Christians without there being any necessity on our part to postulate a specific universal law proscribing Christianity as such.

M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J.

The Creighton University

Book Reviews

Louis Foley, *How Words Fit Together*. Babson Park, Massachusetts, Babson Institute Press, 1958. Pp. 125; paper-bound.

Here is a little book of very great value to all who teach English, and indeed to every one who seeks in his writing to attain correctness, cogency, and economy.

The fact that it is published by a "Business Institute" press, and designed immediately as a text for the teaching of effective writing to students of Business Administration, does not mean that its mission is conceived in any limited sense. This work should interest intensely, even merely for browsing purposes, the most mature of students and general readers, who will discover in it a fresh, unique handling of the great theme of words and their ways not indeed devoid of humor, but plentifully firm and authoritative. Those who have slipped inadvertently into certain illogical or otherwise unwarranted patterns or features of expression will be brought up sharply to a recognition of their danger. For it is a danger to personal prestige, as well as to a language that should represent our nation worthily, to fall in unthinkingly with many presently widespread linguistic practices.

The chapter on "Jarring Echoes," for instance, should inculcate in all who have the necessary foundation for feeling more and more sensitivity against disagreeable repetitions and sound-combinations. "Interwoven Strands" will show them in the most practical way the basic genesis of the English vocabulary. "Diagnosis of Dislocation" will demonstrate perhaps considerations that they may never have realized on the position of adverbs. And so on and on, until there will be for the understanding reader little excuse for error in essential features of our English-language usage.

It is probable that the present stocks of *How Words Fit Together* are not sufficient to satisfy immediately a wide demand; but the book is too good, and too necessary, not to call for many reprintings.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute,
Blacksburg, Virginia

A. M. Withers

Three Uppsala Studies: Leif Bergson, *L'épithète ornementale dans Eschyle, Sophocle et Euripide* (Thèse pour le doctorat présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université d'Uppsala). Lund, Håkan Ohlssons Boktryckeri, 1956. Pp. 213. 20 couronnes suédoises. Tönnies Kleberg, *Hôtels, restaurants et cabarets dans l'antiquité romaine: Études historiques et philologiques* (Bibliotheca Ekmaniana Universitatis Regiae Upsaliensis 61). Uppsala, Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri AB, 1957. Pp. xi, 163; 21 illustrations. 20 kronor. Anders Olerud, *L'idée de macrocosmos et de microcosmos dans le Timée de Platon: Étude de mythologie comparée*. Uppsala, Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri AB, 1951. Pp. vii, 236. 15 couronnes suédoises.

The author of the first study rejects the ancient classification of epithets into *epitheta necessaria* and *epitheta ornantia* and gives instead a threefold division: "1) celles qui sont indispensables pour l'intelligence du contexte; 2) celles qui sont certes superflues mais qui, ajoutant au mot principal une nuance justifiée par le contexte, ne sont donc pas exclusivement des mots d'ornement; 3) celles qui n'ont absolument rien à voir avec le contexte" (p. 18). More specifically, "un epitheton ornans est un adjectif qui n'ajoute au contenu d'une proposition aucune détermination intellectuelle, un adjectif dont la valeur affective même a disparu au point de ne plus servir soit à rendre le mot principal plus compréhensible dans le contexte, soit à éveiller un sentiment chez l'auditeur ou le lecteur, soit à contribuer à la formation d'une certaine *Stimmung* justifiée par le contexte" (p. 19). After determining his field of investigation, Bergson makes a detailed study of the Homeric and non-Homeric *epitheta ornantia* of the three great Greek tragedians. He reaches a number of conclusions: Aeschylus employs a proportionally greater number of Homeric ornamental epithets than Sophocles or Euripides; but, since he uses them "avec le plus de hardiesse," they more frequently lose their ornamental character than in the other two tragedians, who in this matter are thus "plus homériques." Since Sophocles uses Homeric epithets with the same substantives employed by Homer fifty-two per cent of the times, while Aeschylus uses them in only forty-nine per cent, and Euripides in only thirty-six, Sophocles, from this aspect, lives up to his ancient reputation of being "the most Homeric" of the tragedians (p. 127). Aeschylus and Euripides employ almost as many non-Homeric as Homeric epithets, while Sophocles uses almost twice as many of the latter as he does of the former (p. 141). An ornamental epithet is not necessarily a poetical word, but one which, even when it is not necessary for the meter, gives a certain amplitude to the diction and "constitue un procédé stylistique d'ordre affectif qui, en même temps que d'autres facteurs, contribue à distinguer la diction poétique de l'allure objective de la prose normale et officielle" (p. 182). Ornamental epithets appear most frequently in the speeches of messengers, not because, as has been maintained, the tragedians were here consciously striving to give a Homeric touch to their works, but because "les récits de messagers se prêtent mieux, par leur contenu et par leur caractère dramatique, à la présence de mots ornementaux que les autres parties du drame" (p. 184).

The author of the extensive monograph on Roman inns and restaurants first discusses the terms connected with such establishments, then the principal types, their personnel and clientele, and finally the service and amusements provided for the patrons, and other related matters. Needless to say, a good many of these places were disreputable. The author cites, for example (p. 95), Julian the Apostate's order as transmitted by Cassiodorus (*Hist. Trip.* 4.29), prohibiting pagan priests drinking in taverns. In this particular instance it would probably have been just as well to cite the original text of the prohibition, found in Julian's letter *Ad Arsacium* (480b): "Admonish them that no priest may enter a theatre or drink in a tavern or control any craft or trade that is base and not respectable" (trans. by W. C. Wright, *LCL* 3:69).

As to the Olerud study, though the terms macrocosm and microcosm are not used by Plato to designate the universe and man, they represent concepts essential to his teaching, especially in the *Timaeus*, a kind of corollary to the *Republic*. In this doctoral thesis the author attempts to show how Plato's cosmogony and anthropogeny are intimately connected to his ideal state. In the first chapter he discusses the physiological, morphological, psychological, and sociological relations between man and the universe as posed by Plato in the *Timaeus*. In the second chapter he has assembled the evidence for such relationships in the teachings of the pre-Socratics, and in the third he takes up the evidence for such ideas in Greek, Iranian, and Indic mythology. The *Timaeus* is not an easy dialogue to read, though it was very highly esteemed in the ancient and mediaeval world. This modern study of the dialogue is a valuable contribution to a fuller understanding of this now somewhat neglected work.

M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J.

The Creighton University

Ludwig Bieler, "The Grammarian's Craft," *Folia: Studies in the Christian Perpetuation of the Classics* 10.2 (1958) 3-42. This is a re-issue of an article first published in *Folia* ten years ago. Little has been changed in the text, but the notes have been brought up to date. The editors of *Folia* are to be congratulated on reprinting this important article, which is

as fine a summary of the principles of textual criticism as can be found anywhere. Mr. Bieler writes not only from a thorough knowledge of the principles employed by the great editors of the past such as Carl Lachman, Dom Quentin, and A. E. Housman, but from his own wide experience. The scope of the work may perhaps be best indicated in his own words: "Varied as may be the grammarian's interests and functions in the wide sphere of human culture, the special abilities required for his profession converge on textual criticism and exegesis: *distinguere emendare adnotare*, as Suetonius said of Marcus Valerius Probus (*De grammaticis* 24). However greatly the modern grammarian may differ from his colleague of the past, his basic work is still accurately described by the ancient triad. The grammarian's work culminates in editorship—the severest test to which his vocation can be put, and the very core of his craft. Editorship, with all its implications, will be the main subject of my talk" (p. 5).

M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J.

The Creighton University

Ary H. Crooson, *Divry's Guide to Greece and Information Manual*: edited by Constantine Divry. New York; D. C. Divry, Inc., 1956. Pp. 190; illustrated. \$2.00.

This compact and convenient guidebook, written by a professional Greek lecturer and guide, is filled with valuable information for anyone contemplating a trip to Greece. It contains a large number of photographs and illustrations of Greek scenes which no camera can really duplicate. Those who have already had the pleasure of seeing the sun-bathed land of Greece will undoubtedly, though this time vicariously, enjoy another trip to Greece by reading through the pages of Professor Crooson's book.

Clearly and simply written, with occasional quaint Hellenisms in the English text, the book is divided into five major parts: I, Modern Greece, General Information (pp. 11-75); II, Modern Athens (pp. 76-91); III, Ancient Athens (pp. 92-111); IV, Ancient Greece (pp. 112-161); and V, The Greek Islands (pp. 162-184). Pages 185-190 contain a list of Great Men of Letters of Ancient Greece and a list of the Ancient Greek Gods, together with appropriate comment. There is also a folding map of Greece inside the back cover.

This book is obviously not aimed at professional scholars but is rather sympathetically directed at the general traveler who may be interested in visiting the land of the birthplace of democracy. Though not so fully documented as the famous *Les Guides Bleus: Grèce*, published by the Librairie Hachette, *Divry's Guide to Greece* can be effectively and profitably used by those who want to visit Greece and desire to have some general background about ancient and modern Greece and, while in Greece, want some helpful assistance in what to see, where to see it, and how to see it in the most feasible and expeditious manner possible. For others, it can serve to bring back cherished memories of glorious Hellas.

John E. Rexine

Colgate University

Two Volumes of Classics in Translation: C. A. Robinson, Jr., editor, *Selections from Greek and Roman Historians* (Rinehart Editions 88). New York and Toronto, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1957. Pp. xi, 341. \$1.25. G. M. A. Grube, *Longinus: On Great Writing (On the Sublime)*: Translated, with an Introduction. New York, The Liberal Arts Press, 1957. Pp. xxii, 66. 60 cents.

This is an age of selection. No matter what the subject matter, it seems that our age is one that constantly looks for a "royal road" to everything. History is notoriously an area in which abridgement, outlines, and general survey perhaps prevail more formidably than in other areas of knowledge. And this is perhaps only natural because the sweep of history necessarily tries to cover much more ground than other areas of specialized knowledge. The publishers of the Rinehart Editions have added another volume to their classical literature list which already includes the several widely used anthologies in the classical field. The latest edition is *Selections from Greek and Roman Historians*, edited by Charles Alexander Robinson, Jr., of the department of classics of Brown University. Professor Robinson's specialized interest in ancient classical history is well known to students in this field, and his publications have commanded wide attention and use.

His *Selections from Greek and Roman Historians* is an excellent source book for students of ancient history with selections judiciously chosen from the most important of the Greek and Roman historians. The translations in this collection are not new. One may fairly say that they are trans-

lations that have pretty much become standard. They include selections from George Rawlinson's translation of Herodotus, Benjamin Jowett's Thucydides, H. G. Dakyn's translation of Xenophon's *Hellenica*, Evelyn S. Shuckburgh's Polybius, D. Spillan and Cyrus Edmond's Livy, John Selby Watson's version of Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae*. Suetonius is represented in the translation of *Vitae Caesarum: Divus Iulius*, by Alexander Thomson, revised by T. Forester. Selections from Tacitus' *Annales*, *Historiae*, *Agricola*, and *Germania* are from the translations of Alfred John Church and William Jackson Brodribb.

The introduction (pp. vii-xxxiv) is adequate and the bibliographical note (pp. xxxv-xxxvi) is sufficient for the general student of ancient history. One misses a good chronological chart, listing the principal events of ancient history as well as some well chosen diagrams of the most significant battles of antiquity. Illustrations from recent archaeological discoveries would have enhanced the other qualities of the book. The selections from the ancient historians are admirably annotated with a brief outline and caption of the contents at the beginning of the selection, and each selection is clearly identified for easy reference. There is a map of Greece, one of the Roman Empire, and a genealogical chart of the Julio-Claudian line of emperors.

The selections are well chosen to illustrate the ancient historians as well as to provide the student of ancient history an opportunity to read in the ancient sources in translation. This will be an excellent source book to use in the traditional college course in ancient history along with a standard textbook, supplementary readings, and the class work that normally accompany such a course, especially nowadays when there is a tendency in some institutions for the history department to teach the classical history course, and where the students are oftentimes limited to a secondary text of questionable overall value.

It is unfortunate that Mr. Robinson did not include selections from Xenophon's *Anabasis*, Plutarch, and the *Vitae Divi Augusti*, *Tiberii*, and *Neronis* from Suetonius, and perhaps even selections from Pliny the Younger. But in spite of these omissions, the book is highly recommendable as a very useful source book for the general college ancient history course and for the interested general reader.

Literary criticism has generated much interest from the time of Aristotle down to T. S. Eliot and others in our own day. With the possible exceptions of Aristotle, Horace, and Quintilian, perhaps no ancient critic stands as important to the total field of literary criticism as does Longinus. Criticism begins when questions of value arise. Our own age is an age which constantly raises the question of values, and consequently it is no wonder that literature should be subjected to this same questioning. The recent appearance of Professor Grube's excellent new translations of the *De Sublimitate* is a welcome one. Anyone who has taught ancient literature to large groups of non-classical students will appreciate the use that Longinus' criticism can have in the modern classroom.

Mr. Grube rightly translates *ὕψος* by the general term "great writing" rather than the specific "sublime." And it is, of course, in Longinus that we find that famous definition of what constitutes great literature which has plagued critics since antiquity. In Grube's translation we read: "Consider truly great and beautiful writing to be that which satisfies all men at all times; for whenever men of different occupations, lives, interests, generations, and tongues all have one and the same opinion on the same subject, then the agreed verdict of such various elements acquires an authority so strong that the object of its admiration is beyond dispute" (p. 10). Some would describe this as the answer to the question, "What is a Classic?" Here see my discussion of this question in my review of T. S. Eliot's *On Poetry and Poets* in CB 34 (February 1958) 47-48.

Professor Grube minces few words about the authorship of the essay that has survived under the name of Longinus. He prefers to place the author in the third century A.D. Whether the reader prefers to call him Cassius or Dionysius Longinus is ultimately irrelevant to the content of the work that we have, at least to that part of the content that has universal significance. Philologists will be interested in Grube's careful comments in his introduction (pp. vii-xxi), and the general reader will appreciate the Biographical Index at the end (pp. 59-66). Copious notes by Grube illuminate many of the difficulties in the text.

This handy, new translation of Longinus will be a welcome boon to the limited materials available for the illustration of ancient literary criticism in English translation.

John E. Rexine

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